/186 cont./

[77 797 871 515 853 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.

The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It may also happen that a family with ten children has become so large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

853 855 [593]

854 482 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 868 The games of the children are generally instructive for their later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

[231]

/187 cont./

857 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport,
868 as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy
23/ to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (cúnga) and the hole-ball (hénde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[524] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

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Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.



Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

Ill. 198. Among the tasks of the women are the making of clothing for the family and the housework, including the fetching of firewood. Whereas the men carry heavy loads on their shoulders, the women use the forehead band.

/CXXIII/

Plate CI

Ill. 199. The shaman Felisa Ipia with her shaman's staff and the nyika reed. In the wool threads fastened to her staff she has gathered the souls of all the inhabitants of Santa Rosa. With the reed she tears apart the clothing of a soul about to leave a dying person. It must then return to its body and the person need not die.

Ill. 200. Gable post of a hunting hut with the skull trophy of a slain monkey. The skulls of the animal booty hung on the gable post, as well as the wing feathers of the birds killed, are supposed to guarantee further success in hunting. Below the skull trophy, the incised figure of a spirit besides the Christian cross.

Plate CII

Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.

Ill. 202. Calderun music group. The instruments are the transverse flute, bass drum, drum, tambourine, and triangle.

/182 cont./

423 461 [173] [628] [648] The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation. Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its defense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and [735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 868 Children grow up in continuous communion with the activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their 342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects [750] a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he [787] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/203 cont./

534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

* /222 cont./
756 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal
787 one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and
● [868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer
756 does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show
787 him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of
868 great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/223 cont./

* 756 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher.
● 868 The demand for his services on the part of others depends on
* 756 the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of
554 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner.
868 All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to
[829] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to
[623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 Those who have had visions also place themselves under
868 the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the
[782] secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a
[778] curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say,
778 those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico
782 /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/224 cont./

At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

**Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

**Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

**Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.